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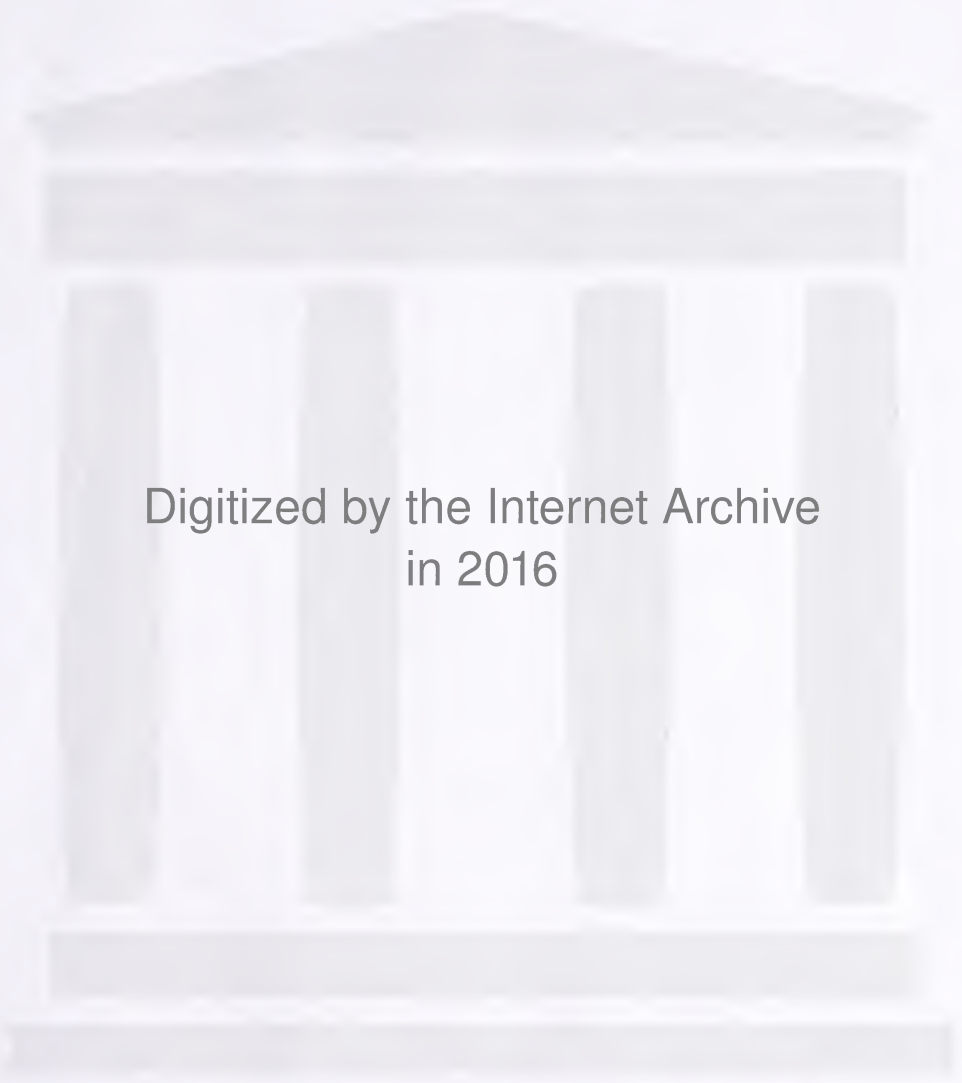
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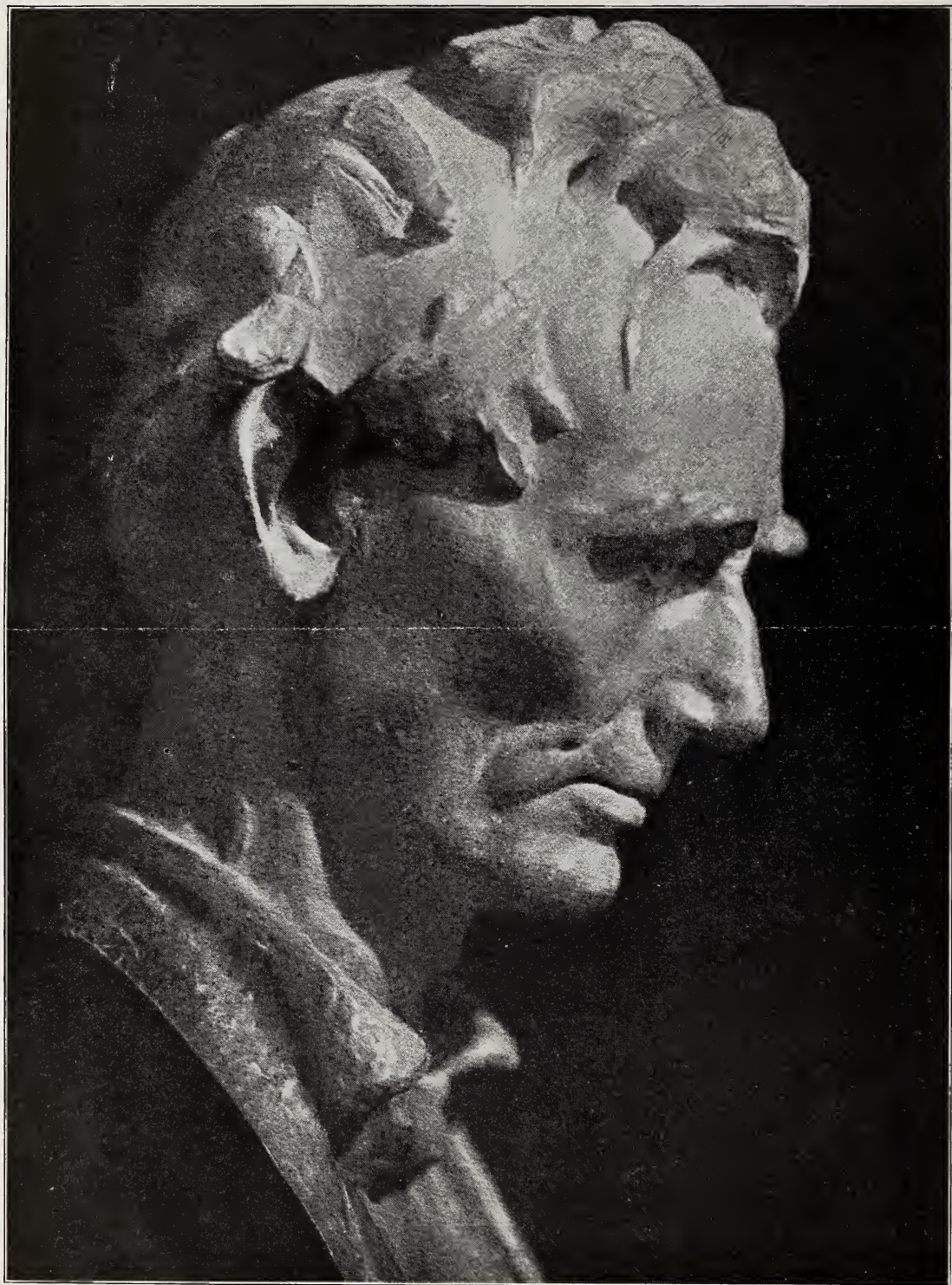
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ABRAHAM LINCOLN

## Address of Mr. Justice Wanamaker

A large number of our membership were present and certainly appreciated a most comprehensive analysis of Lincoln's character and mentality.

Those present at the speakers' table were:

Judges of our Municipal Courts, Hazen, Trude, Fry, Hayes, Richardson, Wells and McKinley. Alexander Fyfe, Chairman of our Political Action Committee, George Dixon, one of our estimable ex-presidents, and President Foster S. Nims.

President Nims, with a few appropriate remarks, introduced Judge Hazen, an old school-mate of Judge Wanamaker's as Chairman of the Day, who, in turn, introduced the speaker with the following remarks:

"Fellow members of the Hamilton Club and guests: I appreciate the courtesies extended to me by your president on this memorable occasion and day in our American life, the celebration of Lincoln's birthday.

It behooves us all to look back on what has happened during the last year and a half in the events of our American history to the days of '64, when our country was saved by a brilliant leader from our State.

We love to think of Lincoln and what he stood for and what he lived for in our American life.

We in the Hamilton Club are proud of his leadership, because he represented the great principles in party politics, republican principles, for which we in this Club stand even in this day and age. Because of what Lincoln stood for in American history, we gather annually to learn a new lesson from his splendid teachings, and more than ever in these days are we in need of men of Lincoln's type exemplified to us.

It is a pleasure to me to introduce to you here to-day as your speaker a man whom I have known almost all my life. I had the pleasure of being raised down in Ohio from where, as we all know have come many prominent men in our history, and I recall at the college age, I remember two men who were both great debaters, who were both great students of Lincoln, and his principles and policies as applied to our real Americanism. One was Congressman S. D. Best, whom this Club has heard on different occasions, and who, no doubt, in my mind, should be and probably will be the speaker of the next Republican House of Representatives in Congress. The other is the speaker of the day, who has studied the life of Lincoln, and both have lectured many times all over the country on this subject.

I hold in my hand a volume called "The Voice of Lincoln," published by Charles Scribner Sons, the author of which is the speaker of the day, Judge Wanamaker of the Supreme Court of Ohio."

**Justice Wanamaker:** Gentlemen of the Hamilton Club and guests, particularly my brethren of the bench, representatives of the Municipal Courts of the great city of Chicago, I want to thank you for the generosity of your greetings, like the prudent landlord, I always appreciate advance (applause);—I am surer of getting it.

I feel comfortably surrounded with friends of my own profession, and if it were not so, I might have some misgivings that there were those here to agree with which reminds me of the story of young Pat, the Irishman, when two lawyers got

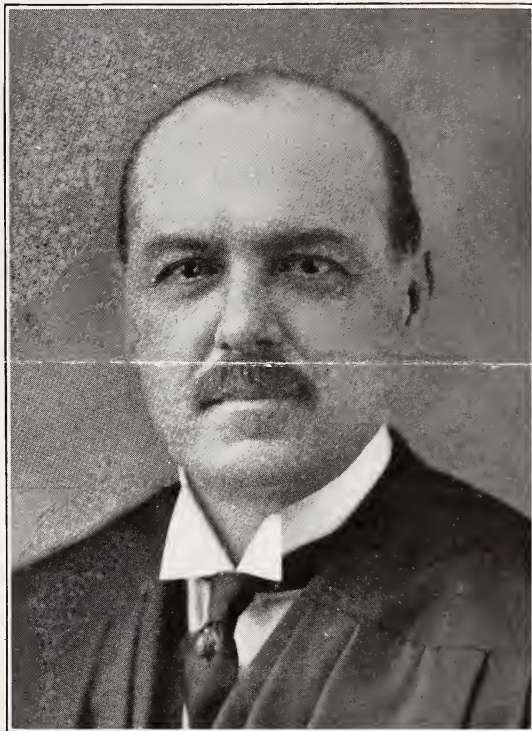
into a dispute about the decline of Irish humor in the younger generation they decided to settle it by subjecting young Pat to cross examination,—a dangerous business at best. The doubting lawyer did the interrogating after this fashion:

"Good morning, Pat."

"Good morning to you, Mr. Wilson."

"Have you heard the news this morning, Pat?"

"Sure, Mr. Wilson, I have not seen a paper for these two days."



MR. JUSTICE WANAMAKER

"Well, the devil is dead, Pat. Great big headlines in the paper this morning, the devil is dead."

For once this young Irishman had nothing to say, but he reached down in his pocket and pulled out a few small coins and offered them to the lawyer.

"But I would not think of charging you any fee for that information, Pat. Of course we lawyers are accustomed to charge fees for information furnished our clients, but I would not make any charge to you for that."

"Oh, sure, Mr. Wilson, you don't quite understand me; I am not giving you that for a fee. I love ould Ireland; I love her laws and customs, and one of the ouldest customs we had in ould Ireland, sir, poor as we were, was to do a little something for the orphans."

The world's genius has been successfully employed in destructive warfare. We may



indulge the hope that henceforth it shall be as successfully employed in constructive welfare.

That welfare work must have vitally to do, first, with the individual development of man; second, the national development of man. You cannot have small units producing a big sum unless they be parasites or pigmies.

A successful business man and journalist once said: "I was born to a condition I would not accept. I changed it." Lincoln was a living example of this epigram. He was not content to complain or submit, he "changed" it. How?

Thousands of volumes have been written and spoken concerning the external events of his most eventful life exceeding that of any other American. As yet we have only scratched the surface of his inner greatness.

Nature spent little of her force in the exterior furnishings of this Illinois giant. She preferred to use her great resources in interior equipment.

This week the world, from Petrograd to Peking is thinking and talking Lincoln. His soul goes marching on wherever there is love of liberty and patriotism has a shrine.

Humility's child, he became Humanity's man. How?

How did this backwoods boy become a master of men? How did he pass from the pioneer life, with all the privation and primitiveness of the frontier, and grow to be the greatest lawyer of his State, the greatest orator of his day, and the greatest statesman of his age?

Democracy developed him. Who better understood and expressed it than Lincoln? What were his views on government, its powers, its purposes?

Washington has been called "The Father of His Country." He was the leader when we were a baby nation and his policies were most admirably suited to our national boyhood.

Lincoln has been called "The Savior of His Country." He was its leader in its manhood. As the Man of Galilee in his life gave religion a new meaning, so Lincoln in his life gave democracy a new meaning. He thought humanity, suited not merely to his own people or his own time, but to the people of all the world, of all the ages.

How did he do it?

To stimulate a more practical and profound study in the home and school of Lincoln's mental and ethical methods in his own individual development, to furnish us afresh his ideas and ideals of a true and just Americanism, to call us back to the fundamental principles of a constitutional democracy, based upon law and order, with equality and equity for all, as declared and illustrated by what Lincoln said and what Lincoln did, having especial reference to Bolshevism; these are the primary purposes on this occasion:

Deliberation: Some Aristotle might well write: "All lovers are blind."

The patriot is a lover (of his country.)

Therefore: A patriot is blind.

This syllogism contains the whole of a fact and the half of a fallacy. Too often patriotism is merely a matter of impulse or emotion rather than of intellect and equity. Lincoln was peculiarly the product of his intellect plus his conscience.

Every question was first submitted to his court of conscience. If that did not approve, it was the end of the matter. If it did approve, it was next submitted to his court of intellect.

His greatness was neither accidental nor miraculous. He was the natural if not the neces-

sary product of his great natural endowment plus his own independent self-education.

Though in school but six months, he was a student for the fifty-six years of his life. He did not merely read things, he studied them, he digested them, he assimilated them.

His mental methods should be impressed on every student, young or old, in or out of school, as the only successful way to acquire a trained and efficient mind. He gave those methods to a New York reporter, shortly after the great Cooper Union speech, that aroused such great interest, especially in the East:

"Well, as to education, the newspapers are correct. I never went to school more than six months in my life. I can say this: that among my earliest recollections I remember how, when a mere child, I used to get irritated when anybody talked to me in a way that I could not understand. I can remember going to my little bedroom, after hearing the neighbors talk of an evening with my father, and spending no small part of the night trying to make out what was the exact meaning of their, to me, dark sayings.

"I could not sleep, although I tried to, when I got on such a hunt for an idea until I had caught it; and when I thought I had got it I was not satisfied until I had repeated it over and over again, until I had put it in language plain enough, as I thought, for any boy I knew to comprehend. This was a kind of passion with me, and it has stuck by me; for I am never easy now, when I am handling a thought, until I have bounded it north and bounded it south and bounded it east and bounded it west."

I have read many works on education and how to acquire it, but never before have the essential rules and mental growth and training been so plainly and practically put as they were in these two paragraphs.

What, after all, should be the leading object of education, especially public education? Is it not to make thinkers and reasoners? Is it not to make a full and fair survey of every situation, so as to know and understand the essential facts, the controlling facts, and the causal relation existing among them.

This method of deliberation, of study, enabled Lincoln, in his own quaint original way, to so thoroughly grasp the facts and the underlying principles that it has been well said that he never was surprised in a lawsuit at the unexpected strength of the opposition.

This method of study gave him confidence, self-reliance, and made him the master man for every situation he had to meet. The great liberator, he was first and foremost as the deliberator. Had he not properly deliberated, it is not improbable that his liberation of the slave would have proved a political boomerang and have destroyed the very purpose of the declaration which made the slave free.

I shall close this branch of my subject at the risk of a repetition of these four great commandments of Lincoln touching deliberation, for I would have them in every study and school in the land:

First: "hunted for an idea until I had caught it!" (Passion for knowledge.)

Second: "repeated it over and over again." (Thoroughness.)

Third: "put it in language plain enough, as I thought, for any boy I know to comprehend." (Simplicity of statement.)



Fourth: "bounded it north and bounded it south and bounded it east and bounded it west." (Causal relation.)

These rules were not only religiously followed by him in his own self-education, but they crop out all through his preparation of a lawsuit, his early arguments upon public policies, his great speeches against the extension of slavery, his presidential messages, state papers, etc. By reason thereof, what he knew he knew thoroughly, knew practically and efficiently.

If there ever was a time when deliberation upon fundamental facts and primary principles is needed in the solution of legal and political problems that time is to-day.

Decision: Oh, we judges know how difficult it is sometimes to decide. One reason is we have not surveyed the subject; we have not deliberated upon it sufficiently, then sometimes, you know, we lack backbone, we have a backbone sometimes like cotton strings of empty grain sacks that won't stay up quite straight.

Herndon who never over-estimated anything in Lincoln's favor said that he never knew him to adopt a suggestion of associate counsel, no matter how respectful or courteous he was. He was never discourteous to a lawyer or to anybody else. The decision in reference to how a case was to be tried was Lincoln's; the decision as to what was to be done in the political contest was Lincoln's; the decision that was to be followed at Washington in the cabinet was Lincoln's, except the unessential and immaterial things, which did not matter.

Another thing, the first thing he did was to submit the case, after a full deliberation, to the court of conscience; that was the first court to which Lincoln submitted his case, whether it was personal, legal or political.

God Almighty made the first court; he organized or established it, wherever he established a man, because he put the court in the man.

You in the organization of your Municipal Court have very largely followed out the idea that there is not much red tape to conscience. There are not many delays in its operation; you do not need to lay awake nights wondering what you are going to decide tomorrow.

There is one rule of law in the law of conscience, always paramount, which is never modified, "whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye also unto them." That is the rule that always prevails in the great court of conscience. That was the court where Lincoln first sought a decision, and if the decision was against the proposition, that ended it, that was the lawyer Lincoln.

It is said of him again and again that when a client lied to him, and he got into court, and during the trial Lincoln finally found out his client had lied and his client was seeking some unjust advantage of the other fellow, he abandoned the case forthwith. That decision was first the court of conscience, and next the court of intellect.

Having fairly and fully deliberated, he was ready and eager to decide. There was neither wabbling nor wavering, mollycoddling or equivocating in his decisions. He was incapable by nature and force of habit of any such mental operations.

No quality of mind or character is more essential, not only to the individual man in private life, but even more so in public life, than the

disposition and ability to fairly, fully, clearly and conclusively decide a submitted question.

This applies naturally with equal force to the law-maker, the judge, the executive.

Many instances might be given in proof of this fact, but these few will suffice.

a. His great "house-divided-against-itself" speech, at Springfield, Illinois, in 1858. This decided upon against the advice of all his personal and political friends.

b. The question put to Douglas, in the Freeport debate, as to whether or not, under the Dred Scott decision, there was any method of preventing slavery in the territories of the United States. This decision was also against the advice of his personal and political friends.

c. His refusal to make any political speeches during the presidential campaign of 1860, likewise against the advice of most of his political friends.

d. His personal and independent selection of the cabinet, against the advice of his friends, especially his political friends. They reminded him he was elected as a Republican and that his cabinet as tentatively chosen, was composed of four ex-Democrats and only three ex-Whigs. He reminded them that he would oft times sit about the cabinet table and that that would balance the party division.

e. His decision to appoint Stanton secretary of war: Stanton's personal and professional insults in the McCormick Reaper case, tried in Cincinnati, in 1855, could not be forgotten by Lincoln. Stanton's reference to Lincoln's administration in Washington were frequent and notorious as an administration of "political imbecility." He had often referred to Mr. Lincoln as the missing link of the Darwinian theory. Lincoln's decision to appoint Stanton rose high above any personal or party consideration. The good of the country was the only thing that Mr. Lincoln evidently had in mind.

f. His kindly but dominant control of the cabinet during his presidential term, handling Seward, Chase and Stanton in a tactful but decisive manner, in all the essential policies touching the conduct of the war.

Those biographers that knew him most intimately agree that, as a lawyer, the policy in the trial of a lawsuit was always Lincoln's and not that of his associates. His decision was final. Likewise, in his great political campaigns, the decision was Lincoln's. And so, as President of the United States, notwithstanding the great Seward, Chase and Stanton, the essentials of that administration fully and fearlessly expressed the views and decisions of Abraham Lincoln.

But I must hasten. That is the second great link in his chain.

The third link was "Declaration." After he had decided a thing in the mind, in the conscience, then the decision was to be put in the form of a declaration.

May I be pardoned by saying that Lincoln was a great admirer and follower of Thomas Jefferson. He quotes Thomas Jefferson oftener than he quotes all other American Statesmen put together.

Imagine if Lincoln had written his own epitaph, as Jefferson wrote his, it would have been somewhat related to it. Though Jefferson had been Governor of Virginia, Vice-President of the United States, though he had been President of the United States two terms, and established

a political dynasty, when he wrote his epitaph, those things never occurred to him as important. And this was the epitaph: "Here lies the body of Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence, of the Statutes of Virginia for religious freedom, and the founding of the University of Virginia."

Thomas Jefferson thought more of liberty, freedom and education than he did of the fact that he had been President of the United States. And Lincoln thought more of liberty and democracy than anything else with which he had been identified in the shape of political office.

The probabilities are that Lincoln's first contact with this word and what it meant was by reason of his boyhood study of the Declaration of Independence.

The first part of this immortal Declaration, which has become the great Magna Charta of liberty and democracy, dealt with a simple, strong declaration of the fundamental principles of our government. It was justified under the name of "a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare," etc.

Lincoln at 23, when first a candidate for the general assembly of Illinois, issued a circular to the voters of Sangamon County containing his declaration of principles, in which he used these words:

"\* \* \* in accordance with an established custom and the principles of true republicanism, it becomes my duty to make known to you, the people, whom I propose to represent, my sentiments with regard to local affairs."

Lincoln was ambitious but nobly so. Even at 23 he declared that ambition in these few unselfish patriotic words:

"Every man is said to have his peculiar ambition. Whether it be true or not, I can say, for one, that I have no other so great as that of being truly esteemed of my fellow-men, by rendering myself worthy of their esteem."

He always put his policies and principles into definite, decisive declaration and persisted in the opposition doing likewise.

In this he was as fair as he was fearless. His declarations contain neither cowardice nor camouflage.

Lincoln's declarations had nothing of the wishy-washy, milk-and-water policies. They were either 100 per cent. warm or 100 per cent. cold. He must have profoundly believed the doctrine as announced by John in Revelation in his letter to the church at Laodicea:

"I know thy works, that thou art neither cold nor hot: I would thou wert cold or hot."

"So then because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spue thee out of my mouth."

If God Almighty would take no chances on the straddler, the "lukewarm" fellow, why should the voters?

He was but 23 years of age when he made the declaration of principles, but the modern politician finds that the last thing he wants to do is to make a declaration of principles. He says he is a "middle of the roader." No, he is probably "astraddle of the fender."

Definition: When God gave us an Abraham Lincoln, he let loose one of the world's greatest definers. Surely one of the greatest evils to-day in legal and political language is the looseness and laxity of speech. It is a matter of common knowledge that over half of the world's litigation to-day grows out of uncertainty, indefiniteness

and ambiguity of words and phrases in our constitutions, our statutes, our contracts and conversations. We do not seem to say what we mean nor mean what we say. So involved and equivocal are both legal and political language that most of the time of courts to-day is consumed by interpretation and construction of what should have been made clear and certain.

This evil in constitution and law-making, in contract making and conversation cannot be remedied until we begin at the bottom to seriously study and acquire the habits of simple speech in the plainest phrase, free from all doubt or dodging. No wonder that the pure plain English of the rail splitter of Illinois is to-day treasured in the great universities of the world as the most splendid specimens of pure patriotic English.

Back, however, of clear speech there must be clear thought, and Lincoln excelled in both. His definition of terms in debate was always the first essential in order to determine the common ground upon which the different parties could agree.

Demonstration: Here his intellectual powers were at their best. The other mental functions having been efficiently exercised, demonstration was comparatively easy for him. Touching this word and its meaning in his life he said:

"In the course of my reading I constantly came upon the word 'demonstrate'—I thought at first that I understood its meaning, but soon became satisfied that I did not. I consulted Webster's dictionary. That told of certain proof, 'proof beyond the probability of doubt'; but I could form no sort of idea what sort of proof that was."

"I consulted all the dictionaries and books of reference I could find, but with no better results. You might as well have defined blue to a blind man. At last I said, 'Lincoln, you can never make a lawyer if you do not understand what demonstrate means.' I studied Euclid until I could give any proposition in the first six books at sight. I then found out what demonstrate meant."

This study of geometry by Lincoln took place after he was forty years of age. He had served his term in Congress, had come in contact with the big scholars and statesmen of that day. He realized as he never did before his defects in education and equipment for the legal and political battles of life. He returned to Springfield in the firm conviction that he would overcome, as far as possible, his shortage in study, his lack of mental discipline and efficiency and he addressed himself at once with unusual zest to thorough study and research.

Herndon, who never overstated anything in Mr. Lincoln's favor says concerning Lincoln at this time:

"I could notice a difference in Lincoln's movement as a lawyer from this time forward. He had begun to realize a certain lack of discipline—a want of mental training and method. \* \* \* And now he began to make up for time lost in politics by studying the law in earnest. No man had greater power of application than he. Once fixing his mind on any subject, nothing could interfere with or disturb him. Frequently I would go out on the circuit with him. We usually, at the little country inns occupied the same bed. In most cases the beds were too short for him, and his feet would hang over the foot-board, thus exposing a limited expanse of shin bone. Placing a candle on a chair at the



head of the bed, he would read and study for hours. I have known him to study in this position till two o'clock in the morning. Meanwhile I and others who chanced to occupy the same room would be safely and soundly asleep."

What an inspiration to the man or woman who has never had the advantage of college and university training, but is still eager to self school the mind denied these advantages in youth.

An analysis of his great legal arguments, as well as his public speeches, clearly shows the fact, that in the main he had three great hitching posts from which he got the major premise of his great arguments:

a. The Bible; the "House Divided Against Itself" speech, Springfield, Ill., 1858, based upon a parable of Christ;

b. The Declaration of Independence; his political debates with Douglas, and especially the Gettysburg address that opens concerning a nation "conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal," or

c. A self evident truth, preferably an admission of the opposition, as illustrated in the great Cooper Union Speech of 1860 that was based upon Douglas' speech made in Columbus, Ohio, in which he said that "our fathers who made the constitution probably understood better what they meant than we do now."

For his legal arguments have been preserved to us, but Herndon himself says that he was greatest when he appeared before the Supreme Court of Illinois in some important legal argument. He was a natural logician, natural lawyer and natural judge.

Dedication: The Gettysburg address is more than a great oration. It is an index of Lincoln's mind, an exponent of his spiritual self. It is as perfect a portrait of Lincoln as could be put in human speech.

It contained but ten short sentences composed of 267 short words and was delivered in two minutes on that sacred soil where was fought the decisive battle of the civil war. He was present at these dedicatory ceremonies upon written invitation, in which the writer carefully advised him that

"\* \* \* Hon. Edward Everett will deliver the oration \* \* \*. It is the desire that **after** the oration you as Chief Executive of the nation formally set apart these grounds to their sacred use by a **few appropriate remarks.**"

"Dedication" is the one central word and idea of each one of these ten sentences. It should be read this anniversary week by every patriot.

In six of these sentences he uses the word "dedicate," though we have all been religiously cautioned that it is bad form to use the same word in close proximity more than once.

In the other four sentences you have the adjective "this," the synonym "consecrate," the concrete word "battlefield" and the phrase "what they did here," all symbols of the same sentiment "dedication."

The word "dedicate" was the biggest and best word in the English language in 1863. It is the biggest and best word in the English language in the year 1919.

Common knowledge, as well as the Dictionary, advises us that it means "to devote, set apart or give up, as oneself, to a duty or service." It means unreserved unselfishness.

For the least of the by-products that have come out of this great world war has been that it has shaken us all out of the shell of our selfishness.

It has given our community life a new meaning, new obligations and made us all to feel that "I am my brother's keeper."

Patriotism was his primary and paramount consideration, infinitely above any form of partisanship. First elected on the Republican ticket in 1860 he was re-elected on the Union ticket in 1864. Elected first as an ex-Whig, he chose four ex-Democrats for his cabinet. In his choice of cabinet, his dedication to the cause of liberty and union is most pronounced. He did not surround himself with political sycophants, loyal followers of unknown or untried qualifications, who might fawn upon or flatter him, but conceded his cabinet was chosen from all political parties, the biggest and most representative leaders of the time. Scarcely a man in the cabinet but what seriously believed himself a bigger man than his chief.

One more observation about his great dedicatory address at Gettysburg. It was as remarkable for what it did not say as for what it did say.

Throughout the speech of Edward Everett there occurs the words "rebel" and "rebellion," "slavery," "secession," "treason" and the like, and Secretary Seward, the night before, in his short speech at Gettysburg used the words "treason" and "rebellion."

But these find no place in the speech of Lincoln. Not a bitter or hateful word is there, and though a man above all others who had been rejected and reviled by the South, he reviled not again.

Emerson has aptly said concerning this trait of Lincoln:

"His heart was as great as the world, but there was no room in it to hold the memory of a wrong."

No wonder that Edward Everett wrote him a day or two thereafter a most intimate personal letter, in which, among other things he said:

"Permit me to express my great admiration of the thoughts expressed by you with such eloquent simplicity and appropriateness at the consecration of the cemetery. I should be glad if I could flatter myself that I came as near the central idea of the occasion in two hours as you did in two minutes."

Democracy: The former six mental and spiritual dynamos constantly and conscientiously worked together for a broader and better democracy, as Lincoln understood and applied it. This, after all, was the great consummation of his life.

He deliberated in the terms of democracy, spoke its speech, lived its life, and died triumphant in its defense.

Where did he get it?

He attended the political school of its great master, Thomas Jefferson. He quotes Jefferson more often than he quotes all other American statesmen put together. As a student of Jefferson and his school of government, Lincoln doubtless often read the simple, modest epitaph on Jefferson's tomb, which read:

Here was buried

Thomas Jefferson

Author

of the Declaration of Independence

of

the Statute of Virginia

for Religious Freedom and

Father of the University

of Virginia.



Concerning the fountain from which he drank his democracy, Lincoln himself said in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, in February, 1861, when on his way to Washington for inauguration:

"I can say in return, Sir, that all the political sentiments I entertain have been drawn so far as I have been able to draw them from the sentiments which originated and were given to the world from this hall. I have never had a feeling politically that did not spring from the sentiments embodied in the Declaration of Independence. \* \* \* It was not the mere matter of a separation of the Colonies from the Motherland, but that sentiment in the Declaration of Independence which gave liberty not alone to the people of this country, but I hope to the world for all future time. It was that which gave promise that in due time the weight would be lifted from the shoulders of all men."

Even in the great crisis of 1861, he kept in the foreground the primary paramount purpose of our American government, in these plain, practical words, being a part of his message to the Federal Congress:

"This is essentially a people's contest \* \* \* It is a struggle for maintaining in the world that form and substance of government whose leading object is to elevate the condition of men—to lift artificial weights from the shoulders, to clear the paths of laudable pursuits for all, to afford all an unfettered start and a fair chance in the race of life. Yielding to partisan and temporary departure from necessity, this, after all, is the leading object of the government for whose existence we contend."

In my judgment, this is the biggest and best conception of American democracy ever put into the English language, and it took the biggest and best democratic American to put those paramount purposes in such plain practical phrase.

"To elevate the condition of men."

"To lift artificial weights from the shoulders."

"To clear the paths of laudable pursuits for all."

"To afford all an unfettered start and a fair chance in the race of life."

These four phrases spell humanity, and Lincoln forever makes them the definition of our American democracy.

In a word, with Lincoln, democracy was synonymous with humanity. He thought, he talked, he labored and lived as the one composite, universal, representative man.

Who, now, was to exercise and execute this paramount purpose of government?

Lincoln, himself, answers that question:

"Our government rests on public opinion. Whoever can change public opinion can change the government practically so much."

In one of his debates with Douglas in 1858, Lincoln said:

"In this and like communities, public sentiment is everything. With public sentiment, nothing can fail; without it nothing can succeed. Consequently he who molds public sentiment goes deeper than he who enacts statutes or pronounces decisions. He makes statutes and decisions possible or impossible to be executed."

In his first inaugural address he used this language:

"Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world? \* \* \* By the frame of the government under which we live, this same people have wisely given their

public servants but little power for mischief, and have with equal wisdom provided for the return of that little to their own hands at very short intervals. While the people retain their virtue and vigilance, no administration, by any extreme wickedness or folly, can very seriously injure the government in the short space of four years."

It may be interesting to note what Lincoln thought about how this public opinion, as the great reservoir of political power in our government, should express itself, whether through the regular channels of constitutional and statutory machinery, agencies and officers, or whether it should express itself by mob rule or revolution.

In view of the rising tide of Bolshevism in the world at large, and even the little cloud that already appears above the American horizon, Lincoln's views on mob law or the rule of force and violence are particularly apropos and instructive, I shall quote at some length a speech that he made at Springfield, Illinois, in 1837, when he was but 28 years of age, a speech that abundantly shows the earnest and conscientious study that he was giving to these fundamental principles of government.

"I hope I am not over wary; but if I am not there is even now something of ill omen amongst us. I mean the increasing disregard for law which pervades the country—the growing disposition to substitute the wild and furious passions in lieu of the sober judgment of courts, and the worse than savage mobs for the executive ministers of justice. This disposition is awfully fearful in any community; and that it now exists in ours, though grating to our feelings to admit, it would be a violation of truth and an insult to our intelligence to deny. \* \* \*

"The question recurs, 'How shall we fortify against it?' The answer is simple. Let every American, every lover of liberty, every well-wisher to his posterity swear by the blood of the Revolution never to violate in the least particular the laws of the country, and never to tolerate their violation by others. As the patriots of seventy-six did to the support of the Declaration of Independence, so to the support of the Constitution and laws let every American pledge his life, his property, and his sacred honor—let every man remember that to violate the law is to trample on the blood of his father, and to tear the charter of his own and his children's liberty. Let reverence for the laws be breathed by every American mother to the lisping babe that prattles on her lap; let it be taught in schools, in seminaries, and in colleges; let it be written in primers, spelling-books, and in almanacs: let it be preached from the pulpit, proclaimed in legislative halls, and enforced in courts of justice. And, in short, let it become the political religion of the nation; and let the old and the young, the rich and the poor, the grave and the gay of all sexes and tongues and colors and conditions, sacrifice unceasingly upon its altars."

In the 50's in certain quarters of the country there was a strong movement among certain abolitionists to resort to force and violence for the purpose of freeing the negro.

William H. Herndon, Lincoln's law partner for many years, was an earnest advocate of this kind of Bolshevism, and relates in his biography of Lincoln the following which is of pertinent interest here:

"We recommended the employment of any means, however desperate, to promote and defend



the cause of freedom. At one of these meetings Lincoln was called on for a speech. He responded to the request, counseling moderation and less bitterness in dealing with the situation before us. We were belligerent in tone, and clearly out of patience with the Government. Lincoln opposed the notion of coercive measures with the possibility of resulting bloodshed, advising us to eschew resort to the bullet. 'You can better succeed,' he declared, 'with the ballot. You can peaceably then redeem the Government and preserve the liberties of mankind through your votes and voice and moral influence \* \* \* Let there be peace. Revolutionize through the ballot box, and restore the Government once more to the affections and hearts of men by making it express, as it was intended to do, the highest spirit of justice and liberty. Your attempt, if there be such, to resist the laws of Kansas by force is criminal and wicked; and all your feeble attempts will be follies and end in bringing sorrow on your heads and ruin the cause you would freely die to preserve!'

A sentiment more sound and salutary in the social, industrial and political councils of the nation to-day could scarcely be found.

The violent outbreaks were not unlike those we find to-day in the unrest, disorder and violence through the I. W. W. and other radicals in the use of the bomb and dynamite as a means of redressing real or fancied wrongs.

It would hardly be claimed that any of the I. W. W. or Bolsheviks, or any other radical reformer, had a higher conception of individual right and freedom than old John Brown of Harper's Ferry. It may be of interest to quote what Mr. Lincoln thought of John Brown and his methods:

"John Brown's effort was peculiar. It was not a slave insurrection. It was an attempt by white men to get up a revolt among slaves, in which the slaves refused to participate. In fact, it was so absurd that the slaves, with all their ignorance, saw plainly enough it could not succeed. That affair, in its philosophy, corresponds with the many attempts, related in history, at the assassination of kings and emperors. An enthusiast broods over the oppression of a people till he fancies himself commissioned by Heaven to liberate them. He ventures the attempt, which ends in little else than his own execution. Orisini's attempt on Louis Napoleon and John Brown's attempt at Harper's Ferry were, in their philosophy, precisely the same."

Touching the same matter he said in a speech at Leavenworth, Kansas, in December, 1859:

"Old John Brown has been executed for treason against a State. We cannot object, even though he agreed with us in thinking slavery wrong. That cannot excuse violence, bloodshed and treason. It could avail him nothing that he might think himself right."

Later, in 1864, touching the same subject of law and order as essential to human right and liberty, Lincoln said in a reply to a workmen's association that called upon him at Washington and tendered to him honorary membership in the association, which he generally accepted. Upon that occasion he said, after referring to his message to Congress in December, 1861, touching the relation of capital and labor, the following:

"The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relation, should be the one uniting all working people, of all nations, and

tongues, and kindreds. Nor should this lead to a war upon property, or the owners of property. Property is the fruit of labor; property is desirable; is a positive good in the world. That some should be rich shows that others may become rich, and hence is just encouragement to industry and enterprise. Let not him who is houseless pull down the house of another, but let him work diligently and build one for himself, thus by example assuring that his own shall be safe from violence when built."

In the word of reconstruction as to the necessity for which we are all substantially agreed, the American people putting interrogation points back of all their oldest and best established institutions and applying the test of St. Paul of old, a great Roman lawyer and logician, "Prove all things: hold fast to that which is good."

The people purpose to humanize the church, to bring it back to the old time teachings of its founder the "Man of Galilee," to make them feel the needs, the sympathies, the aspirations, and the just demands of labor.

Christ chose most of his Apostles from the ranks of the workingmen.

I fear I do no violence to the simple truth when I say that the workingmen of to-day too often enter the Christian Church with a feeling of exceedingly doubtful welcome.

We must humanize our government. Humanity must be its first and final goal. We must do it in the terms in which Lincoln taught it when he said that the "leading object of government is to elevate the condition of men."

We must likewise humanize our public schools and colleges so as to further the betterment of men. Too much of our education is not education at all.

Many years ago I said in a humble address to my fellow citizens that there was no other human institution known among men where there was as much waste of time, labor and money as in the judiciary of state and nation. That then may have been a radical proposition, indeed a revolutionary one, but I have to-day no apologies to make for having made that declaration.

We have vastly moved forward in reducing our system of jurisprudence to a simple, successful, short-cut basis, as witness here in Chicago in your municipal courts.

But in our public schools and colleges we are too much given to the old order, the old method of making canning factories out of our school rooms. We stuff a pint of peas in one fellow's head, a pint of corn in another, and a quart of succotash in another, and then at stated periods the official prober or examiner comes around to ascertain whether or not the original contents are all there and in a fair state of preservation.

You cannot by stuffing the facts and principles into the human mind educate it to its highest efficiency. Train it to think and reason, as the old fathers thought and reasoned. You can only do so by emulating and exemplifying the elementary principles laid down by Lincoln in his own self-education.

Let us teach Lincoln's life, Lincoln's language, Lincoln's logic, Lincoln's patriotism, Lincoln's public policies, Lincoln's honesty and honor, Lincoln's ethics, Lincoln's unselfishness, and we shall have provided not only the true, the real Americanism, but likewise the greatest antidote against both anarchy and autocracy that is possible in this the 20th century.



Let us bottom it all upon Lincoln's passion for knowledge and for justice to all without fear or favor.

Many other great Americans might be studied with profit, but if we begin with "Humanity's Man", Lincoln the Leader, individually and

nationally, we will have given our American boy and girl something eminently more practical and more useful than the campaigns of a Caesar, the orations of a Cicero, or the Poems of a Virgil.

Truly can it be said as Stanton said the day of Lincoln's death, "Now, he belongs to the ages."

## VITUPERATION IS POOR ARGUMENT

Washington, March 10th, 1919.—The Republican Publicity Association, through its president, Hon. Jonathan Bourne, Jr., today gave out the following statement from its Washington Headquarters:

We now begin to understand why it was that the President did not select former President Taft as one of his colleagues on the peace commission. There is no stronger advocate of the league of nations in this country, aside from Mr. Wilson himself, than his predecessor in office, and there is no doubt that he is doing the Wilson cause a far greater service by remaining at home than he could if he was tied down at the peace conference in Paris. Traveling from one end of the country to the other, Mr. Taft is busily disseminating the propaganda upon the success of which the future of Mr. Wilson and the Democratic party depend.

"So zealous has the former President become in his efforts to bring the people into line behind the league of nations that he even resorts to vituperation. 'Among the gentlemen in the Senate,' says he in a burst of abuse, 'who are setting out to defeat this league of nations are those I would not trust with the constitution overnight.'

"When one recalls the character of men who already have expressed their opposition to the constitution of the league, the full meaning of Mr. Taft's remark is understood. When such men as Senator Knox, Secretary of State in Taft's own Cabinet; Senator Harding, heretofore a devoted friend of Taft; Senator Lodge, the leader of the Republicans and an acknowledged authority on international matters, and others of equal prominence and ability, take violent exception to the principles of the new league, it is realized that Mr. Taft takes upon himself a heavy responsibility when he denounces them as dishonest.

"It is a sad sight to see our only ex-President, a former Federal judge, many times prominently mentioned for a seat on the Supreme Court, indulging in such expressions—it can not be called argument. Such language is the ordinary resort of the lower classes of society in their quarrels, but never has been associated with gentlemen of standing or lawyers of reputation, unless, perchance, they were hired to say something and were at a loss for substantial argument.

"Thus far Judge Taft has failed to reply to the position taken by leading Republican Senators that the adoption by the United States of the league involves the abandonment of the form of Government outlined in our Constitution, to the support of which every Senator is bound by oath. Rather has he indulged in rosy predictions for the future of the world if the Wilson plan is followed. We undertake to say that what the people are concerned about first is the preservation of their own country, after which attention may be given to the welfare of other nations, and Mr. Taft will find that he is not striking a popular note in advocating the contrary."